

“The Chantey” and “The Bush Poet”: James Cowan and Vernacular Song in New Zealand¹

MICHAEL BROWN

Abstract

Sea shanties and other kinds of vernacular song in New Zealand might be among historian James Cowan’s lesser known interests, but he wrote about them persuasively in two long articles in the *Canterbury Times*: “The Chantey” (1912) and “The Bush Poet” (1913). This essay discusses the background, sources and content of these articles, as well as their influence on later New Zealand music research. While providing some inspiration for local folksong collecting in the 1950s to 1970s period, these efforts ultimately trailed off and Cowan’s articles seem to have rarely been consulted since. I argue that Cowan’s work still offers some stimulating pathways into New Zealand music history, which could be further explored. An appendix listing articles and books by Cowan with references to the relevant kinds of songs is also included.

James Cowan has long been recognised for his extensive and pioneering use of oral sources.² Oral music traditions were also of interest to Cowan, and Māori waiata and haka are quoted throughout his work. Less well-known is Cowan’s interest in sea shanties and other kinds of Anglophone vernacular song heard around New Zealand. These songs inspired two long articles published in the *Canterbury Times*, “The Chantey” (1912) and “The Bush Poet” (1913), several shorter pieces, and passages elsewhere in his work.³ During Cowan’s lifetime, these writings apparently aroused little interest and were not rediscovered until the mid-1950s when Rona Bailey, Herbert Roth, Neil Colquhoun and others set out to collect New Zealand folk songs. The *Canterbury Times* articles have since received some recognition as probably the first serious discussions of vernacular song in a New Zealand context.⁴ Even so, they appear to have been seldom directly consulted over the years.

In this essay, I take another look at “The Chantey,” “The Bush Poet,” and some other relevant material I have traced. Examining each article in turn, I discuss Cowan’s sources, the songs and singing practices he describes, and selected points of interest. I then review his work in the context of later New Zealand music historiography, keeping in mind the question of why Cowan was able to apprehend significant vernacular singing cultures so many decades in advance of local music writers. His work in this area, I conclude, although limited in scope, still offers some stimulating pathways into New Zealand music history which could be further explored.

“The Chantey”

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a burgeoning of research internationally into so-called “folk music” and “primitive music.” “Folk music” at this time denoted the oral-aural music traditions of rural communities within Western countries, while “primitive music” referred to similar non-Western traditions. Such work included Francis James Child’s study of traditional English ballads, field collecting in Hungary by Béla Bartók, and the proto-ethnomusicological researches of Carl Sachs and others.⁵ Although reflecting a more literary standpoint, the Australian compilation of *Old Bush Songs* (1905) by Andrew “Banjo” Paterson arose from a similar desire to preserve vanishing oral traditions.⁶

In New Zealand, these international developments were best represented by the collecting of traditional Māori song and chant, which had been ongoing since the 1850s.⁷ James Cowan was one of several active collectors in the early 1900s (others included ethnologist Elsdon Best and composer Alfred Hill). Waiata and haka are quoted extensively in many of Cowan's publications. But as he himself noted in "The Bush Poet," there had been little equivalent interest in informal Anglophone song cultures in New Zealand, what can now be described as "vernacular" singing practices.⁸ The most significant vehicle of music discourse in New Zealand at the time, the *Triad*, remained firmly focused on the presentational music cultures of concert hall, brass band and the like. When the Australian composer and collector of English folksong Percy Grainger visited the country in 1909, he too apparently looked no further than Māori and Cook Island music.⁹ While glimpses have been preserved in newspaper articles, personal diaries and other sources, Cowan was the first writer to regard these other singing practices as worthy of more serious comment.

Shanties—the work songs of seamen (also spelled chanties or chanteys)—were the first genre upon which Cowan commented at length. Shanties were performed to coordinate and relieve the tedium of group work on sail-powered ships, accompanying heavy tasks such as hauling on rigging lines and heaving at winches like capstans.¹⁰ Their functionality was reflected in characteristic call-and-response performance patterns, with solo lines sung by a "shantyman" interspersed with chorus lines from other seamen, who could then synchronise and thus lighten their collective efforts. Shanty singing peaked between roughly 1820 and 1870, a period of intensifying global trade and European migration, due in part to the design of faster sailing ships like the clipper. Shanties were likewise recognised as a kind of "musical technology" used by seafarers. According to Roy Palmer, they increased shipboard efficiency to the extent that "ships' captains vied with one another to sign on the best shantyman."¹¹ Shanty singing declined as steam-power began to replace sail in the late 1800s.

Exactly when shanties first caught James Cowan's ear is unknown, but it probably occurred during his first job as a junior reporter and later shipping reporter for the *Auckland Star*, between 1888 and 1903. Throughout this period, Auckland was a bustling international seaport, with arrivals of sail-powered vessels still outnumbering those of steam-powered in 1888.¹² Although the balance would soon swing the other way, sail retained a uniquely strong presence in Auckland: the port was home to New Zealand's largest fleet of sailing vessels and, year to year, often claimed over half of the country's entire sailing-ship traffic.¹³ Cowan's journalistic apprenticeship in Auckland sparked a lifelong interest in maritime topics, which formed the subject of *Tales of the Maori Coast* (1930), *Suwarrow Gold* (1936), and other writings.¹⁴ In a *Star* article from 1927, Cowan rhapsodised about the many occasions he'd heard and performed shanties in and around Auckland as a young man:

Memories! We used to hear the real thing even at Queen Street wharf, when the Clan McLeod, say, was hauling out to the end of the quay ready to sail for New York. We had choruses of "Go No More a-Roving" and "Sally Brown" in our Saturday night yachting rendezvous at Drunken Bay or Matiatia or Awaroa Bay. We heard the sweetly-jiggetty song of "Johnny's Gone to Hilo" from the Waitangi or the Lady Jocelyn, skysailyard clipper, making sail off North Head; and the fine open long-drawn notes of "Shenandoah" from every Yank and pretty well every Britisher that dropped the tug off Rangitoto Reef or thereabouts.¹⁵

This extract also hints at the special role of shanties in colonial New Zealand, a nation whose only connection to the world throughout the period was ships.¹⁶ Shanties were sung by thousands of local seafarers—2,801 men were thus employed in 1874 out of a

population of almost 300,000.¹⁷ They were also performed on most immigrant vessels between 1840 and 1890, probably several times a day: “what a noisy crew you have; they never pull a rope without either singing a song or shouting lustily,” one migrant of the late 1870s noted in their diary.¹⁸ Shanty singing was a musical practice which directly facilitated the processes of colonisation and trade.

However, by the time Cowan first tackled the subject of shanties in “The Chantey,” in 1912, the practice was fast becoming obsolete.¹⁹ The demise of shanty singing was already stimulating a wave of nostalgic interest in Britain and America, from writers such as John Masefield and folksong collectors including Percy Grainger and Cecil Sharp.²⁰ Cowan may have been partly inspired by this overseas literature, but the article itself reflects his usual style of anecdotal history based on oral accounts.²¹ Rather than dealing with shanties as a folksong collector might, presenting and analysing different song texts, for instance, Cowan considers them as part of a narrative past, as something to be recalled in the context of particular events and specific people’s lives. His approach is reflected in the article’s full title: “The Chantey—Sailor Memories—The Songs of the Sea.”

“The Chantey” juxtaposes four main “memories,” some drawn from Cowan’s direct experience, others from remembered conversations with seamen casting their own minds back to a bygone era. The first relates to an encounter with a Māori seaman in Milford Sound; the second, to shanties being sung during the embarkation of the barque *Clan Macleod* from Auckland and the late arrival of a drunken crew member; and the third, to an evening singsong in the Hauraki Gulf. No source is given for the fourth anecdote, concerning a drinking spree in Melbourne during which a New Zealand crew perform shanties while raising and lowering the second mate in a wheel-barrow hanging off the back of a wagon.

All four of the “sailor memories” invite commentary, but the first and third can be singled out for their broader insights. The Milford Sound encounter probably occurred in 1905 when Cowan was working for the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.²² Travelling to the greenstone workings in Anita Bay, he there met a seaman named Tohi Te Marama tending a schooner. The meeting made a deep impression: Cowan wrote about it no less than six times over the years.²³ It turned out that Tohi Te Marama (1832?-1918)—the half-brother of Ngāi Tahu rangatira Topi Patuki, and well-known in Bluff as “General Buller”—had a maritime career stretching back to the 1840s, including stints on the whalers *Post Boy* and *Chance*.²⁴ Ever on the lookout for new material, Cowan asked the veteran seaman if he knew any waiata from the area, to which Te Marama gave an unexpected answer:

“My word, yes,” he said; “I know some dam good songs, t’e songs we used to sing on t’e Postboy long ago. This is t’e werry bes’ waiata I know”—and the ancient mariner lifted his grizzly-grey old head and piped out:—

O, Sally Brown’s a bright mulatto.

O—oh—oh, roll and go!

She drinks rum and chews tobacco;

Back your money on Sally Brown!

It was the old up-anchor “chantey” sung by seamen all round this rolling globe, from New Orleans to Lyttelton harbour, from Sydney to Hong Kong. That was Tohi te Marama’s “werry bes’ waiata.”

After that there was no holding the weather-puckered old whale-harpooner. Quite in the British chantey-man’s style Tohi sang, in a sea-roughened but not

unmusical voice, sea-song after sea-song, most of them familiar to me by reason of much knocking about in and around ships in other years.²⁵

Cowan's description highlights several important points about shantying. First, that it was a transnational singing practice shared by seafarers worldwide, Pākehā and Māori New Zealanders among them. Because of the contract basis of shipboard labour, whereby crews formed and reformed in new combinations for each voyage, individual shanties could thus spread far and wide. Most of the nineteen shanties Cowan names are well-known (e.g., "Blow the Man Down", "Rio Grande"), with a few rarer titles (e.g., "Adieu to Maimuna").²⁶ The intermixing of crews, especially in the deepwater trade, also helps account for their eclectic range of musical and textual sources, including traditional Anglo-Irish, Afro-American, Caribbean, broadside, and blackface minstrel.

The account also contributes to the seldom-discussed topic of Māori shanty singing. Although the participation of Māori in the deepwater trade has proved difficult to quantify, they had an ongoing presence in coastal shipping.²⁷ Shanties may be an underrated musical influence in areas with long histories of maritime contact, such as Tohi Te Marama's rohe (home region) of Murihiku. Cowan himself seems to have initially assumed that Te Marama's musical identity would be essentially "Māori": his request for "waiata" referred to traditional Māori material. But the Māori seafarer interpreted "waiata" more literally to mean "songs." His response both reflects a more complicated cultural identity and further highlights the cross-fertilising aspects of seafaring "crew culture" (a concept discussed further below).

Another valuable feature of "The Chantey" is that Cowan quotes lyrics from seven shanties, thereby recording some interesting variants. Shanties tended to exist in a multitude of performed versions, variation arising from both the workings of oral tradition and shantymen improvising new words. The most significant examples in "The Chantey" relate to the Hauraki singsong anecdote. Because Cowan disclosed further details of this event in *Suwarrow Gold* (1936), it can now be identified as taking place around 1901 aboard the government schooner *Countess of Ranfurly*.²⁸ The ship was then under the maiden command of Frank Worsley (1872-1943), who had previously served with the New Zealand Shipping Company and would join Ernest Shackleton on the ill-fated Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1914-1915.²⁹

As the *Countess of Ranfurly* was returning to Auckland, the wind died away and the ship's company gathered to sing near the poop deck, a common off-duty entertainment among seamen (who also had a non-shanty repertoire of songs known as "forebitters").³⁰ Cowan recalled that older popular songs like "Juanita" and Charles Dibdin's "Tom Bowling" were performed, but also expressed satisfaction that "The Lost Chord" (by Arthur Sullivan) and "other shore-going twiddle-twaddle did not figure in it." Shanties predominated and he highlights two "ditties we beachcombers of the Waitemata used to sing," both illustrating how shanties were sometimes adapted to incorporate New Zealand references. The first was the halyard shanty "A Long Time Ago":

O, I wish I was in Auckland town—
 Away—oh, aye—oh!
Where all de gals walked up and down,
 A long time ago!
O, I wish to Gawd I'd never been born!
 A long time ago—oh!
Away down yonder where dey grow de corn—
 A long time ago.

To go wandering around and around Cape Horn,
A hundred years ago!³¹

This excerpt illustrates how a local allusion to the recreational pleasures to be found in Auckland could find a place in the vernacular *bricolage* of the shanty lyric, alongside fragments from blackface minstrelsy (“Away down yonder where dey grow de corn”) and traditional maritime phraseology (“To go wandering around and around Cape Horn”). The second localised shanty, “The Sailor’s Way,” which Cowan quoted in several other publications, will be discussed below.

“The Bush Poet”

In 1913, “The Bush Poet” (subtitled “Some Old New Zealand Songs”) appeared in the *Canterbury Times*. Here Cowan takes a rather different tack, sketching his broader impressions of vernacular song in New Zealand. The article begins by alluding to Paterson’s 1905 anthology of Australian bush songs, before observing that:

So far no New Zealander has attempted to record the unprinted old “home-made” songs afloat in the bush and backblocks communities in New Zealand, songs which though rough-hewn as to rhyme and metre sound well enough when chanted by strong lungs at a “sing-song” around a camp-fire. Perhaps readers of the “Lyttelton Times” are unaware that such songs are in existence.³² There are not nearly so many as in Australia, but still the doggerel rhymester is not unknown in the New Zealand bush and in the little sailing coasters that ply from bay to market port and back again. The city man naturally never hears these songs, but the gumdiggers’ camp, the bushfellers’ shanty, the sawmill-hands’ and flax-mill hands’ camps know them well enough, at any rate in the North Island.³³ Of the current “chanties” of the southern plains and hills I cannot speak from personal knowledge. I know this of the north, that some of the choruses bellowed around the camp fire, or in the snug “whare” after “kai,” or out in boat or canoe, date back at least fifty years.³⁴

Cowan here implies that singing for self-entertainment in bush camps and backblocks communities was—unlike shanty singing—still common practice. Although not so grounded in day-to-day contact as with the maritime milieu, this claim is lent some credence by the fact that Cowan’s research and work assignments involved many expeditions into the North Island hinterland. If his sample is anything to go by, the workforces comprised large singing and song-sharing communities—in the 1911 census, they totalled (excluding Māori) 12,317.³⁵

He also observes that songs sometimes spread between occupations and localities. A seaman had learnt a song while working in the bush; gold rush songs later become “bush-camp classics”; and sailors brought their shanties ashore with them. This pattern of cultural transmission is highly reminiscent of what James Belich calls “crew culture”: the habits, attitudes and oral literature shared by a large pool of transient male labour during the nineteenth century.³⁶ Crew culture enabled groups of these workers to form “prefabricated communities” with strangers in temporary work crews.³⁷ The song cultures described in “The Bush Poet” could therefore actually apply to a much larger New Zealand workforce than the figure of around 12,000 cited above, including groups such as railway navvies and shearers.

Cowan singles out seamen for their influence on the singing component of crew culture.³⁸ Many ex-sailors, he notes, could be found in gum-digging, bush-felling and kauri-

milling camps north of Auckland, where they still performed shanties for self-entertainment, including localised variants. As an example, Cowan supplies the words of a shanty previously quoted in the 1912 article:

I've traded with the Maoris, Brazilians and Chinese,
I've courted half-caste beauties Beneath the kauri trees;
I've travelled along with a laugh and a song
In the land where they grow "mate";
Around the Horn and home again,
For that is the sailor's way.

Chorus.

I've crossed the Line, the Gulf Stream,
I've been in Table;
Around the Horn and Home again,
For that is the sailor's way!³⁹

Cowan's text is notable as one of the earliest printings of the internationally performed capstan shanty and forebitter "The Sailor's Way."⁴⁰ He also seems to have been among the first to realise that it derives from a poem by Irish poet and customs officer William Allingham—"Homeward Bound," first published in 1866—an appropriation that further underlines the breadth of the shantyman's muse.⁴¹ The subsequent adoption of the New Zealand variant as a bush singsong item, meanwhile, suggests its localised content found favour as part of the wider crew culture. "Maoris," "half-caste beauties" and "kauri trees" (as opposed to Allingham's "Yankees", "dusky beauties" and "tall palm trees") perhaps served as small markers of local identity for men brought together temporarily in the prefabricated communities of New Zealand bush camps. Crew culture's local and transnational associations here converged in a male self-image as restless sojourner.

As with "The Chantey," "The Bush Poet" is strongly informed by Cowan's historian's perspective. Songs passed around bush communities have ongoing value, he argues, because they may "memorise more or less historical events of the troubled old days which might otherwise be forgotten." This function is demonstrated with a number of items relating to the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, including an excerpt from a parody of Stephen Foster's minstrel song "Massa's in de Cold Ground" by Charles Thatcher, a professional balladeer of the 1860s.⁴² Cowan heard the song from a steamer captain who had learned it while working in a bush camp north of Auckland:

'Way down on de Papakura flat,
Don't you hear dat mournful wail?
All de Maoris am a weeping,
For Isaac he is safe in gaol.⁴³

As Cowan explains, these lines refer to a Māori chief named Ihaka (Isaac) who was arrested on suspicion of killing several settlers in 1863. This rangatira can now be more fully identified as Ihaka Takaanini (?-1864) of Ngāti Tamaoho, who was almost certainly innocent of the charges and died while still imprisoned.⁴⁴

As it happens, most of the songs in "The Bush Poet" deal with conflict or other interaction between Māori and Pākehā. One of the most compelling is "Maori Joe," a ditty from the Rotorua-Bay of Plenty area concerning the exploits of a Māori member of Parliament, which employs "a pidgin-English jumble of the Maori and pakeha tongues":

Time I go to Parliament, long time I make to stay,

I talk all my talk away, Kapai Hori Grey;
No me likee Mr ——, by-by down he go;
Tenei te Korero tangata pai, Ingoa Maori Joe.⁴⁵

“Hori Grey” here refers to politician George Grey, “Mr ——” to an unpopular land agent whose imagined defeat by “Maori Joe” was a source of amusement whenever the song was performed, while the last line is translated as “This is the talk of a very good man, his name is Maori Joe.” The racially-charged humour of this song remains curiously ambiguous. Is it sending up Māori political aspiration or the Pākehā political system? Does it represent colonial mimicry or exhibit reverse mimicry itself—or both? Perhaps such ambiguities ensured the song’s popularity in bush singsongs, which might well have included both Māori and Pākehā participants.

Lastly, the eclectic range of vernacular song dealt with in “The Bush Poet” is itself noteworthy. While Cowan implies that the New Zealand songs are roughly equivalent to Paterson’s Australian bush songs—by circulating in bush milieus largely through oral tradition—the overall impression is subtly different. The New Zealand material appears more diverse, encompassing topical parodies, local ditties using borrowed tunes, and adapted shanties; some of it anonymous, some known to be written by Charles Thatcher, and one item deriving ultimately from a printed literary source. Nor does Cowan imply that all was necessarily still in oral tradition: “Paddy Doyle’s Lament,” for instance, a comic recruit’s ballad from the 1860s, possibly had only a brief history of being performed. He also mentions that Thatcher printed many of his songs in ephemeral songsters, inferring these may have been another medium of transmission.

Cowan thus exposes the New Zealand material’s fundamental heterogeneity, in terms of its sources, the age of material, adaptive processes, and modes of transmission. Such a hotchpotch mixture of song types is now recognised as a defining characteristic of vernacular song cultures.⁴⁶ Collections like Paterson’s, by contrast, tended to imply that material classified homogeneously using terms such as “bush song” has all evolved in essentially the same way. Similar idealisations also underpinned certain influential definitions of “folksong” being developed at this time by collectors like Cecil Sharp.⁴⁷ Tellingly, although Cowan fleetingly compares Australian bush songs to “the folksongs of Old World countries,” he fixes on no single term to describe his New Zealand miscellany.⁴⁸

Other writings

It has been assumed that “The Bush Poet” was James Cowan’s final word on these subjects.⁴⁹ However, the text-searchable online databases of the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre and PapersPast show that he returned to them on many further occasions, albeit never at great length (see Appendix for a list of source references).⁵⁰ Only three short articles published in the *Auckland Star*—“Deep Sea Music” (1927), “The Chantey” (1931), and “Old Bush Songs” (1934)—exclusively address such topics, with most examples consisting of brief passages or fleeting references.

The bulk of the later writings and references relate to sea shanties. Most merely repeat descriptions from “The Chantey” or reiterate its themes, but there are some new insights. A passage from *The New Zealand Wars* (1922), for instance, describes the singing of colonial forces as they advanced up the Waikato River following the Battle of Rangiriri in 1863:

The time-songs of Te Wheoro's and Kukutai's friendlies rang like war-cries along the Waikato as they came sweeping up in their long canoes, carrying thirty or

forty men apiece.... Then, too, one would hear English sea-songs strangely far inland, for most of the *pakeha* Water Transport Corps were sailors, and they chanted as they stretched out on their oars that they would “go no more a-roving,” and at their camp-fires they raised the old choruses of “Good-bye, fare you well,” and “Rio Grande.” And many a man of Jackson's and Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers—now two independent companies—swinging light-heartedly along the bank, joined in the chanties, for a large proportion of the blue-shirted carbineers had at one time or another followed the sea.⁵¹

Cowan was born some six years after these events and probably obtained this description from one of the many ex-combatants he interviewed.⁵² Here is further evidence of shanties spreading into the crew culture of nineteenth-century New Zealand, in this instance via the colonial armed forces.⁵³ The parallel he draws between Māori canoe-paddling chants and Anglophone shanties is also noteworthy.⁵⁴ While these practices certainly had analogous functions, their similarities must have also resonated with Cowan's belief that the New Zealand Wars could become a shared myth of nationhood for both Māori and Pākehā and, in fact, he repeated the comparison elsewhere.⁵⁵ An implied cultural convergence is also apparent in the way he occasionally uses the term “waiata” for English-language songs.

The revival of shanties as a popular singing genre in schools and concerts during the 1920s, even as seamen had themselves ceased performing them, also drew comment from Cowan. His response to this revival was mixed. He respected the recordings of professional singers and apparently relished the popularisation of shanties as a saltier alternative to the “shore-going twiddle-twaddle” he had decried in 1912.⁵⁶ Yet he also hinted at what had been lost in the transition: the “pleasurably improper” ribaldry of the originals and rough vocal timbres of the “husky-throated ‘foremast hand.’”⁵⁷ Even so, Cowan seems to have been inclined to put such changes in perspective and be grateful that collected shanties helped “preserve for us a phase of life that is all but gone.”⁵⁸

The later writings also feature a smattering of further song lyrics. One of Cowan's later accounts of meeting Tohi Te Marama, for instance, quotes an adaptation of the Californian gold-rush shanty “Sacramento” heard aboard clippers crossing the Tasman Sea, bound for the Otago gold rushes. The variant follows the original chorus below:

Oh, blow ye winds, hi-oh!
For Californi-o;
There's plenty of gold,
So I've been told,
On the banks of the Sacramento!

Oh, there's plenty of gold,
We've all been told,
In the golden land of Otay-go!⁵⁹

Nonetheless, such snippets are rare. While Cowan's unpublished papers may contain more, the published record gives the strong impression he heard or collected little new material in this vein after 1913. There seem several likely reasons. Given the financial demands of his freelance writing career, he may well have prioritised customary subjects such as the New Zealand Wars and Māori folklore. Some of the singing practices and communities were themselves in decline. Shanty singing had largely gone by the 1910s, and industries such as flax milling and kauri felling continued for only a few more years. While singing may have

served as off-duty entertainment in new “crew” communities, such as those associated with deer culling and public works schemes, it is likely they developed their own repertoires independent of the colonial-era material that most interested Cowan. And as Cowan grew older, ill health slowed his writing output and forestalled ongoing fieldwork.

New Zealand music discourse and folksong collecting

In the decades following publication of “The Chantey” and “The Bush Poet,” various brief descriptions of vernacular singing and music-making practices were published in New Zealand. Most of the authors were known to Cowan. Henry Brett and John Liddell Kelly, fellow colleagues on the *Auckland Star*, both took an interest in sea shanties and related material.⁶⁰ Writer and journalist Mona Tracy collected fragments of West Coast gold-rush ditties which she included in historical articles published in the 1930s.⁶¹ Some years later, Cowan’s friend Pat Lawlor (another journalist) recorded his childhood memories of early twentieth-century Wellington, including impressions of the vernacular heard in street music, children’s rhymes and piano singsongs.⁶² Whether “The Chantey” or “The Bush Poet” helped inspire these writings is not known. But that the writers were all journalists at one time or another—like Cowan—may be significant. Such a profession would, for instance, have exposed them to a broad range of social milieus and associated music-making, a point that will be considered further below.

Meanwhile, the music discourse in periodicals such as the *Triad* (1893-1927), *Music in New Zealand* (1931-1937) and *Music Ho* (1941-1948), scarcely touched on the potential existence of local vernacular music.⁶³ Only with the rise of cultural nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s did such possibilities begin to be entertained, mostly in terms of considering whether New Zealand had its own identifiable “folk songs” or “folk music.” For the most part, commentators such as composer Douglas Lilburn answered in the negative.⁶⁴ They generally understood folksong according to theories developed in the context of European societies, such as by English collector Cecil Sharp. According to Sharp’s influential formulation, folk songs were songs of anonymous origin passed down in oral tradition by the rural “folk” of each nation and which thereby came to embody a distinctive national aesthetic.⁶⁵ New Zealand’s settler history was simply too short for folk songs conceived along these lines to have developed, while traditional Māori music was the indigenous minority exception that proved the rule. It can also be noted that, whether or not such writers were aware of Cowan’s “The Chantey” and “The Bush Poet,” the transnational-local crew songs he described didn’t quite fit the idealised model of national folksong either. This issue would eventually emerge with the work of the first group obviously influenced by Cowan, the folksong collectors of the 1950s-1970s period.

Inspired by overseas folk music collecting and revival, these collectors sought to investigate the local possibilities more thoroughly than Lilburn and others.⁶⁶ Dancer and political activist Rona Bailey (1914-2005) was the first to undertake research and fieldwork. An initial breakthrough was finding a clipping of Cowan’s “The Bush Poet,” which raised hopes that a folksong-like tradition had indeed once existed in New Zealand. “The Chantey” was probably rediscovered by Bailey’s collaborator, librarian and writer Herbert Roth (1917-1994).

“The Bush Poet” is a prominent reference point in Bailey and Roth’s anthology *Shanties by the Way* (1967).⁶⁷ The Introduction opens with a long extract from the article, and three songs are included: “Maori Joe,” “A Long Time Ago,” and the 1913 text of “The Sailor’s Way” (which Bailey and Roth entitle “I’ve Traded with the Maoris”). By the time *Shanties by the Way* was published in 1967, “The Sailor’s Way” had already been

“reconstructed” for live performance by school music educator Neil Colquhoun (1929-2014) and recorded by his group, the Song Spinners.⁶⁸ This adaptation remains a popular item in the local folk revival under the title “Across the Line.”

The reconstruction of “The Sailor’s Way” as “Across the Line” included the creation of a new melody, which was apparently devised by Colquhoun for a schoolroom exercise using “Twinkle Twinkle Little Star.”⁶⁹ Wellington folk-singer Jim Delahunty has also been credited and the early version has itself evolved over the years.⁷⁰ Bailey and Roth also modified parts of the original verse, like so:

I’ve travelled along, with a laugh and a song,
In the land where they call you mate,
Around the Horn and home again,
For that is the sailor’s fate.⁷¹

Crucially, the change from “the land where they grow ‘mate’” (*mate* being a caffeinated infusion made from the South American shrub *yerba mate*) to “the land where they call you mate” (i.e. New Zealand) had the effect of boosting the song’s nationalistic content. New lyrics loaded with New Zealand place-names were also written by Delahunty and Colquhoun. Cowan’s fragment was thus transformed into a “New Zealand folk song.”⁷²

The degree of reconstruction required of “Across the Line” before it could be taken into the New Zealand revival repertoire was not atypical. As it happened, only a small proportion of the raw collected material satisfied both the collectors’ nationalistic expectations and orthodox criteria for folkloric authenticity. As Bailey and Roth note in *Shanties by the Way*, the song culture described by Cowan had been “probably irretrievably lost” by the time they started collecting.⁷³ There were also doubts about whether the hotchpotch of song types they had found was really “folksong” at all. While this term features prominently in early newspaper articles about Bailey’s fieldwork, it hardly appears in *Shanties by the Way*.⁷⁴ Growing awareness across the local folk revival community about these underlying issues eventually led to the folksong collecting venture inaugurated by Bailey, Roth and Colquhoun trailing off in the mid-1970s.⁷⁵

Writers have continued to reference Cowan’s articles in the years since, yet how many have actually read them remains unclear. The “land where they call you mate” version of “The Sailor’s Way” continues to be quoted, for instance, even when the original source is cited.⁷⁶ Bailey and Roth’s alterations to this song are not signalled in *Shanties by the Way*.⁷⁷ Their printing of “A Long Time Ago” (which they did acknowledge editing) has been used in a similar way.⁷⁸ One writer who appears to have read Cowan’s actual song texts and full commentary is James Belich, who cites the song “Paddy Doyle’s Lament” (from “The Bush Poet”) as part of his influential 1996 exposition of colonial crew culture.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, folksong idealisations continue to inform how Cowan’s work is interpreted in music historiography. In a recent work, “The Bush Poet” once again becomes collateral evidence in defining New Zealand music in terms of a “lack of folksong” rather than an “abundance of vernacular song.”⁸⁰

Conclusion

The value of James Cowan’s articles on sea shanties and vernacular song should not be overstated. While ground-breaking, “The Chantey,” “The Bush Poet” and related writings comprise only a small body of work. He also had some blind spots, being prone to romanticise bush and maritime song cultures at the expense of the urban equivalents which also existed. Nonetheless, his work still raises important questions about the singing practices

of major occupational groups during the colonial era, about the local and transnational dimensions of their songs, about crew culture and the ways Māori-Pākehā interaction was reflected in vernacular culture.

One final question can be considered here: why was James Cowan able to pick up on these song cultures some forty years in advance of local music writers? His pre-existing interest in collecting Māori waiata and fascination with oral history probably helped, as did his affection for maritime culture. His profession was another important factor. Journalism demanded a continual search for new material, taking Cowan into a wide range of social milieus and requiring keen powers of observation. A journalistic mindset may also account for the tangential interest in vernacular music-making shown by other journalists of Cowan's era. They seem to have been receptive to a much broader spectrum of New Zealand music culture than was reflected in local music discourses at this time. Perhaps most importantly, journalistic objectivity allowed them to appreciate the musical agency of those who were not self-identified "musicians" or "singers," a group that potentially included most people.

Appendix

This appendix lists writings by Cowan I have traced which refer to shanties and other forms of vernacular song in New Zealand. It includes articles credited to "J. Cowan" and "J C", together with well-known pseudonyms like "Tangiwai". Other pseudonymous or anonymous pieces have been identified from their internal references, subject matter, or literary style as having probably been written by Cowan. The listing is broken into three parts: 1) articles specifically about shanties and the like; 2) articles, and 3) books with mentions of shanty or bush singing, sometimes extremely brief, sometimes with song lyrics. Only the main title of articles with multiple subtitles is given.

Main articles

- "The Chantey", *Canterbury Times*, 12 June 1912, 12.
- "The Bush Poet", *Canterbury Times*, 24 September 1913, 14.
- [Tangiwai] "Deep Sea Music", *Auckland Star*, 8 July 1927, 6.
- [J.C.] "The Chantey", *Auckland Star*, 1 May 1931, 6.
- [J.C.] "Old Bush Songs", *Auckland Star*, 8 October 1934, 6.

Other articles

- "A Vanished Fleet", *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, 1 September 1900, 940.
- [Beachcomber] "Our Harbour", *Auckland Star*, 4 October 1902, 4.
- "Our Literary Corner", *Press*, 22 February 1908, 7.
- [Anon.] "Homeward Bound", *Evening Post*, 18 March 1908, 10.
- "A Sailor's Story", *Canterbury Times*, 2 August 1911, 18.
- "A Sailor's Log", *Auckland Star*, 8 November 1911, 8.
- "A Sailor's Log", *Auckland Star*, 15 November 1911, 8.
- "Tales of Bush and Ocean", *Evening Post*, 26 April 1913, 10.
- "Tales of Bush and Ocean", *Canterbury Times*, 7 May 1913, 15.
- [Lee-oh] "Holiday Cruises", *Auckland Star*, 8 January 1916, 13
- [Tangiwai] "Gold in the Mountains", *Auckland Star*, 24 September 1927, 8.
- [J.C.] "The Albatross Brig", *Auckland Star*, 4 June 1929, 6.
- "Stewart Island", *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 1 February 1930, 28-31.
- "The Pageant of the Ships", *Auckland Star*, 7 May 1930, 26.
- "The Bush Explorers", *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 1 August 1930, 25-28.

“The Pa-tuna”, *Auckland Star*, 19 December 1931, 13.
[Tangiwai] “Pictures of New Zealand Life”, *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 1 July 1933, 51-52.
“Coastal Tales of Early New Zealand”, *Auckland Star*, 22 February 1936, 4.
“Wool Away from London”, *Auckland Star*, 17 September 1938, 2.
“Sailor and Artist of the Sea”, *Auckland Star*, 28 October 1939, 6.
“Von Tempsky on the Diggings”, *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 1 February 1940, 49-51.
[J C] “The Apparition in the Blackout”, *Auckland Star*, 16 June 1942, 4.

Books

The New Zealand Wars, vol.1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922), 326-327.
Legends of the Maori, vol.1 (Wellington: Fine Arts, 1930), 275, 277-278.
Tales of the Maori Coast (Wellington: Fine Arts, 1930), 105-111.
Hero Stories of New Zealand (Wellington: Harry H. Tombs, 1935), 285.
Suwarrow Gold, and Other Stories of the Great South Sea (London: Jonathan Cape, 1936), 22-24.

¹ I would like to thank the Alexander Turnbull Library for their support in the writing of this article, as well as Robert Hoskins, Chris Bourke, the special journal issue editors, and two anonymous reviewers for their help improving the text. Thanks also to Robin Brew, who assisted with the original presentation upon which this article is based and to Christchurch City Libraries for supplying copies of James Cowan’s *Canterbury Times* articles.

² For instance, see Michael King, “Introduction,” in *The New Zealand Wars*, by James Cowan, vol. 1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1983), vi; Peter Gibbons, “Non-Fiction,” in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, ed. Terry Sturm, 2nd ed. (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998), 63; Chris Hilliard, *The Bookmen’s Dominion: Cultural Life in New Zealand 1920-1950* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), 70-72.

³ “The Chantey,” *Canterbury Times*, 12 June 1912, 12; “The Bush Poet,” *Canterbury Times*, 24 September 1913, 14. Articles and books cited hereafter without an author are by James Cowan. Cowan later wrote another article called “The Chantey” (*Auckland Star*, 1 May 1931, 6) but, unless otherwise noted, citations for “The Chantey” in this essay refer to the 1912 article.

⁴ For instance, see Mike Harding, *When the Pakeha Sings of Home* (Auckland: Godwit, 1992), 4, 38; Angela Annabell, “New Zealand, §I, 3: European Traditional Music,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 17, 847; Chris Bourke, “Folk Music Collection and Revival, 1920s to 2010s,” *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 13 October 2014, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/folk-country-and-blues-music/page-2>, accessed 14 October 2014.

⁵ For an overview, see Helen Myers, ed., *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 2 Historical and Regional Studies (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993).

⁶ A.B. Paterson, *The Old Bush Songs: Composed and Sung in the Bushranging, Digging, and Overlanding Days* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1905).

⁷ John Mansfield Thomson, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Music* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991), 196-97.

⁸ For more on concepts of vernacular music and song, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 43-44; Michael Pickering and Tony Green, “Towards a Cartography of the Vernacular Milieu,” in *Everyday Culture:*

Popular Song and the Vernacular Milieu, ed. Michael Pickering and Tony Green (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987), 1-38.

⁹ Graham Barwell, "Percy Grainger and the Early Collecting of Polynesian Music," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 2-3 (2003-2004): 1-17.

¹⁰ For an overview of shanties, see Roy Palmer, "Shanty," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 23, 204-08. Standard works on shanties include Stan Hugill, *Shanties from the Seven Seas: Shipboard Work-Songs and Songs Used as Work-Songs from the Great Days of Sail* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), and Stan Hugill, *Shanties and Sailors' Songs* (London: Jenkins, 1969).

¹¹ Palmer, "Shanty," 206.

¹² In 1888, 147 sail-powered and 99 steam-powered vessels entered the port of Auckland. Source: *Statistics for the Colony of New Zealand*.

¹³ Visits to Auckland by steam-powered vessels first exceeded those of sail-powered in 1892; by 1903, the visits were 176 (steam) and 65 (sail). For eleven of the sixteen years from 1888 and 1903, Auckland accounted for over half of New Zealand's total annual visits by sailing ships. It should also be noted that, although at this time the number of sailing vessels registered in Auckland far exceeded that of other New Zealand ports, their average net tonnage was much lower. Source: *Statistics for the Colony of New Zealand*.

¹⁴ *Tales of the Maori Coast* (Wellington: Fine Arts, 1930); *Suwarrow Gold: And Other Stories of the Great South Sea* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1936). See also David Colquhoun, 1996, "Cowan, James," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 3 (Auckland and Wellington: Auckland University Press, Department of Internal Affairs, 1996), 119-21.

¹⁵ "Deep Sea Music," *Auckland Star*, 8 July 1927, 6. See also "The Pageant of the Ships," *Auckland Star*, 7 May 1930, 26.

¹⁶ For New Zealand literature on sea shanties, see Neill Atkinson, *Crew Culture: New Zealand Seafarers Under Sail and Steam* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2001), 81-85, and Michael Brown, "Immigration Diaries and the Sea Shanty," *New Zealand Genealogist* 36 (2005): 280-81.

¹⁷ *Census of New Zealand* (1874).

¹⁸ Anonymous diary (Auckland Museum, ref. MS 961) cited in Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 81.

¹⁹ In 1912, 585 steam-powered vessels entered New Zealand ports versus 95 sail-powered: *New Zealand Official Year-Book* (1913). However, sail-power continued to be used in several trades into the 1930s: see Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 14.

²⁰ See the bibliography in Palmer, "Shanty," 207-08.

²¹ Cowan is known to have owned only one anthology of shanties, which was published after "The Chantey": Frank T. Bullen and W.F. Arnold, *Songs of Sea Labour (Chanties)* (London: Orpheus Music, 1914). Cowan's copy of *Songs of Sea Labour* was recently accessioned by the Alexander Turnbull Library (reference number not yet available). On Cowan's preferred style of historical writing, see Hilliard, *Bookmen's Dominion*, 70-72.

²² The first account of the meeting was published in "New Zealand's Fiordland," *Red Funnel*, January 1906, 513-19.

²³ See "New Zealand's Fiordland"; "The Chantey"; "Tales of Bush and Ocean," *Evening Post*, 26 April 1913, 10 (reprinted in *Canterbury Times*, 7 May 1913, 15); "Stewart Island," *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 1 February 1930, 28-31; *Tales of the Maori Coast*, 105-11; "Coastal Tales of Early New Zealand," *Auckland Star*, 22 February 1936, 4.

²⁴ An historical article about Topi Patuki describes Tohi Te Marama as his half-brother (*Otago Witness*, 17 October 1900, 24-25). Te Marama is probably the half-brother identified as "John Williams Tohe (known as Bulla or Buller)" in Atholl Anderson, "Patuki, Topi," in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 30 October 2012, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1p11/patuki-topi>, accessed 1 October 2014. A death certificate for John Williams Temarama (also likely the same person) was issued in 1918, giving his age as 86.

²⁵ "The Chantey."

- ²⁶ The titles are listed here with Roud Folk Song Index (see: <http://www.vwml.org/search/search-roud-indexes>) reference numbers to help better identify them; an asterisk is appended where Cowan gives an excerpt: “Sally Brown” (RN2628)*; “Farewell and Adieu to You, Fair Spanish Ladies” (RN687); “Rock and Roll Me Over, One More Day” (RN704); “We’ll Pay Paddy Doyle For His Boots” (RN4695); “Shenandoah” (RN324); “Bound For the Rio Grande” (RN317)*; “Blow Ye Winds, Yo-ho!” [“Sacramento”] (RN309); “Blow the Man Down” (RN2624); “Homeward Bound” (RN927)*; “Adieu to Maimuna” (RN8226); “Blow, Ye Winds, In the Morning” (RN2012); “Poor Paddy Works on the Railway” (RN208); “Johnny’s Gone to Ilo” (RN481); “I’ll Go No More a’ Roving With You, Fair Maid” (RN649); “Stormalong” (RN216); “The Fishes” (RN472)*; “The Sailor’s Way” (RN8239)*; “A Long Time Ago” (RN4577)*; “Whisky For My Johnny” (RN651)*.
- ²⁷ Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 162.
- ²⁸ *Suwarrow Gold*, 22-24.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*; see also John Thomson, *Shackleton’s Captain: A Biography of Frank Worsley* (Christchurch: Hazard Press, 1998), 31-32.
- ³⁰ See Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 85.
- ³¹ “The Chantey.”
- ³² The *Canterbury Times* was a weekly published by the *Lyttelton Times*.
- ³³ The word “shanty” in this sentence refers to a makeshift shelter.
- ³⁴ “The Bush Poet.”
- ³⁵ The breakdown is: 1214 (flaxmill owner, workers); 2714 (axeman, woodman, timber getter, splitter); 6248 (sawmill proprietor, worker); and 2141 (Kauri-gum digger, scraper, sorter).
- ³⁶ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), 428-36.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, 428.
- ³⁸ Historians have also noted the strong influence seamen had on other New Zealand work groups, especially kauri timber fellers: see Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 163-65.
- ³⁹ “The Bush Poet.” Cowan also quotes “The Sailor’s Way” in “The Chantey,” “Old Bush Songs” (*Auckland Star*, 8 October 1934, 6), and *Suwarrow Gold*, 23. The words of the first line vary across these publications, suggesting Cowan was perhaps recalling them afresh each time. He also alludes to the song in *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (Christchurch: Harry H. Tombs, 1935), 285.
- ⁴⁰ As of November 2014, the earliest publication date for this song given in the Roud Folk Song Index is 1940.
- ⁴¹ See Brothers Dalziel, ed., *A Round of Days Described in Original Poems* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1866), 74. Cowan implies that he had heard the New Zealand adaptation of “The Sailor’s Way” in both maritime and bush contexts. Most likely, the adaptation originated among seamen in the New Zealand coastal or trans-Tasman trade.
- ⁴² On Charles Thatcher, see the following works by Robert Hoskins: *Goldfield Balladeer* (Auckland: Collins, 1977); *An Annotated Bibliography of Nineteenth Century New Zealand Songbooks* (Christchurch: School of Music, University of Canterbury, 1987); *Gold’s a Wonderful Thing: Charles Thatcher’s Songs of the New Zealand Diggings* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2011).
- ⁴³ “The Bush Poet.”
- ⁴⁴ As Cowan later explained, the South Auckland locality now known as Takanini is named after Ihaka Takaanini: see Tohunga [James Cowan], “The Wisdom of the Maori,” *New Zealand Railways Magazine*, 2 September 1935, 39.
- ⁴⁵ “The Bush Poet.”
- ⁴⁶ For instance, see Debora Kodish, “Fair Young Ladies and Bonny Irish Boys: Pattern in Vernacular Poetics,” *Journal of American Folklore* 96 (1983): 131-150; Michael Pickering and Tony Green, “Towards a Cartography of the Vernacular Milieu,” 12.
- ⁴⁷ See James Porter, “Convergence, Divergence, and Dialectic in Folksong Paradigms: Critical Directions for Transatlantic Scholarship,” *Journal of American Folklore* 106 (1993): 61-98.

- ⁴⁸ Cowan adopted Paterson's term for the title of a later article "Old Bush Songs" (*Auckland Star*, 8 October 1934, 6), but does not use it in the text.
- ⁴⁹ For instance, see Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth, ed., *Shanties by the Way* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1967), 6, and Phil Garland, *Faces in the Firelight* (Wellington, Steele Roberts, 2009), 35.
- ⁵⁰ The New Zealand Electronic Text Centre can be accessed at: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/>; Papers Past can be accessed at: <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>.
- ⁵¹ *The New Zealand Wars*, vol.1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922), 327.
- ⁵² Perhaps from John Patrick Ward (1847?-1914), a former member of Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers who had supplied Cowan with the text of "Paddy Doyle's Lament," quoted in "The Bush Poet."
- ⁵³ See also Belich, *Making Peoples*, 429.
- ⁵⁴ Cowan makes the same comparison in *Legends of the Maori*, vol.1 (Wellington: Fine Arts, 1930), 275. He also compares shanties with Māori cultivation work songs in the article "The Pa-tuna" (*Auckland Star*, 19 December 1931, 13).
- ⁵⁵ See Hilliard, *Bookmen's Dominion*, 74-80.
- ⁵⁶ For instance, see "The Chantey" (1931 article).
- ⁵⁷ "Deep Sea Music," *Auckland Star*, 8 July 1927, 6.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ Both lyric quotations are from "Coastal Tales of Early New Zealand." For another version of the Otago adaptation, see a newspaper article about the life of John Marchant, who arrived in Port Chalmers from Melbourne in 1863 aboard the *Aldinga*. "This song was sung night and day by the passengers," he recalled (*Otago Daily Times*, 17 May 1906, 7).
- ⁶⁰ See Henry Brett, *White Wings*, vol. 1 (Auckland: Brett Printing Co., 1924), 274-76. Brett's source was John Liddell Kelly, who also wrote an article on swagger poets: "Peripatetic Poets—A School of Wandering Minstrels," *Auckland Star*, 5 November 1921, 17.
- ⁶¹ See Michael Brown, "'There's a Sound of Many Voices in the Camp and On the Track': A Descriptive Analysis of Folk Music Collecting in New Zealand, 1955-1975" (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006), 19-20, 160-61.
- ⁶² For example, see Pat Lawlor, *Old Wellington Days* (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1959), 30-31, 36, 107-08, 112, 129.
- ⁶³ This claim is based on the entries in Judith M. May, *An Index of Musical Activities in New Zealand: Reported in the Triad, 1893-1927* (Auckland, 1996); and D.R. Harvey, *A Bibliography of Writings about New Zealand Music Published to the End of 1983* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985). I have managed to trace only one article from this period dealing with such music: Frederick Page, "A Newsboy's Cry," *Music in New Zealand* 4, no. 4 (1939): 7.
- ⁶⁴ See Douglas Lilburn, "A Search for Tradition," in *Memories of Early Years and Other Writings*, ed. Robert Hoskins (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2014), 47, 55 [note: this lecture was originally delivered to the Cambridge Music School in January 1946]. For other comment, see Warren Green, "Music in New Zealand," *New Triad*, July-August 1939, 6-8, and Alan Mulgan, "A Nation's Songs—Could N.Z. Produce a 'Waltzing Matilda?'" *New Zealand Magazine* (March-April 1941): 19-21.
- ⁶⁵ Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, 1907). It should be noted that theories of folksong have been the subject of considerable debate. For some commentary, see D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959); Porter, "Convergence, Divergence, and Dialectic in Folksong Paradigms"; and John Francmanis, "National Music to National Redeemer: The Consolidation of a 'Folk-Song' Construct in Edwardian England," *Popular Music* 21, no. 1 (2002): 1-25.
- ⁶⁶ For a study of New Zealand folksong collecting, see Brown, "'There's a Sound of Many Voices.'"
- ⁶⁷ Bailey and Roth, *Shanties by the Way*.
- ⁶⁸ The Song Spinners, *Songs of the Whalers* [1958]. 45rpm EP Kiwi M3I-1.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Neil Colquhoun, 2 March 2005.

⁷⁰ See Neil Colquhoun, ed., *New Zealand Folksongs: Song of a Young Country* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972), 64, and Phil Garland, ed., *The Singing Kiwi* (Albion Park: Willy Wag, 1996), 18.

⁷¹ Bailey and Roth, *Shanties by the Way*, 124. The editors' textual alterations are present in both the 1958 draft (see Alexander Turnbull Library, ref. 94-106-06/5) and the final publication.

⁷² Colquhoun, *New Zealand Folksongs*, 64.

⁷³ Bailey and Roth, *Shanties by the Way*, 6.

⁷⁴ For instance, see *Dominion*, 31 May 1957, 11, and *Hawera Star*, 14 October 1957, 2.

⁷⁵ See Michael Brown, "'Earnest Spade Work': The New Zealand Folklore Society, 1966-1975," *Journal of Folklore Research* 44, no. 2-3 (2007): 127-60.

⁷⁶ For example, see Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 84.

⁷⁷ The latterday "Across the Line" verses are also sometimes cited as coming from "The Bush Poet." For instance, see John Archer, "Across the Line," in *New Zealand Folk Song*, August 2006, <http://folksong.org.nz/acrosstheline/index.html>, accessed 10 November 2014. The Cowan lyric on this page was sent to Archer by the writer (email 21 October 2003), but lines from the later verses are still attributed to the 1913 article. The song is credited as "Trad." in almost every recorded version I have traced.

⁷⁸ For example, see Atkinson, *Crew Culture*, 84, and Garland, *Faces in the Firelight*, 35.

⁷⁹ Belich, *Making Peoples*, 431.

⁸⁰ Roger Buckton, *Bohemian Journey: A Musical Heritage in Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2013), 60-77.